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ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN FULL

INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	ANHR-01	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00
	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/026W	
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P 171435Z NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2253
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04740

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: BISHOPS MEET THE PARTIES WHILE PRESIDENT
AND FOREIGN MINISTER TRADE PUBLIC ATTACKS

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS LED AN ALL-DAY
SESSION WITH THE LEADERS OF THE FIVE PARTIES NOVEMBER
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16. ON SECURITY, THEY SEEMED TO GET PARTY AGREEMENT
ON CURTAILING THE ACTIVITIES OF PARTY YOUTH GROUPS;
THEY ENCOURAGED AGREEMENT ON A PARTIAL CLEANUP OF THE
TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION; THEY REPORTEDLY AGREED
WITH THE OPPOSITION THAT ELECTIONS CANNOT BE HELD FOR
THE TIME BEING. THEY PLAN TO MEET SOON WITH THE
PRESIDENT. THIS APPARENT PROGRESS WAS ALMOST
SIMULTANEOUSLY THREATENED BY A PUBLIC ACCUSATION BY
THE PRESIDENT AGAINST THE FOREIGN MINISTER, AND THE
LATTER'S SHARP RESPONSE IN WHICH HE CHALLENGED THE
PRESIDENT TO A PUBLIC DEBATE AND DEFIANTLY COMMITTED
HIMSELF TO GO TO ARUSHA NOVEMBER 23 REGARDLESS. END
SUMMARY.

3. AS PLANNED, RELIGIOUS LEADERS MET YESTERDAY,

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NOVEMBER 16, WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FIVE POLITICAL PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. LED BY BISHOP THADDEE NSENGIYUMVA, THE BISHOP OF KABGAYI AND PRESIDENT OF THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE, THE RELIGIOUS DELEGATION INCLUDED TWO OTHER BISHOPS AND TWO PRIESTS FROM THE SEMINARY PLUS LEADERS OF FIVE PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS. THE MRND WAS REPRESENTED BY ITS NATIONAL SECRETARY, THE FORMER NATIONAL SECRETARY, AMBASSADOR RENZAHU FROM THE PRESIDENCY AND TWO OTHER PARTY LEADERS. THE PRESIDENTS OF THE MDR, PL, PSD AND PDC WERE PRESENT WITH DELEGATIONS FROM THEIR PARTIES. THE MEETING LASTED FOR THIRTEEN AND A HALF HOURS, FROM 9:30 IN THE MORNING UNTIL 11:00 AT NIGHT. THE FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF THE MEETING WAS PROVIDED PRIMARILY BY PL PRESIDENT JUSTIN MUGENZI AND MDR PRESIDENT FAUSTIN

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TWAGIRAMUNGU.

SECURITY

4. THE MEETING BEGAN WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE DEPLORABLE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY. IT LED TO ACRIMONIOUS ACCUSATIONS AMONG THE VARIOUS PARTIES AS TO WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR WHICH KINDS OF VIOLENCE. AT ONE POINT TWAGIRAMUNGU INTERVENED TO SUGGEST THAT THE BISHOPS LEAD THE ASSEMBLED POLITICIANS IN PRAYER ON THE SECURITY QUESTION. WHETHER IT WAS DIVINE INTERVENTION OR NOT, THE SUBJECT RETURNED TO A MORE CALM DISCUSSION, AND FINALLY AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TENTATIVELY TO BAN THE USE OF YOUTH GROUPS IN THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. THE OPPOSITION PARTIES, OF COURSE, FEEL THIS IS A MAJOR STEP FORWARD, IF IT ACTUALLY HAPPENS, BECAUSE THE MRND YOUTH, THE INTERAHAMWE, IS THE ONLY YOUTH GROUP WHICH IS ARMED. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT THE PARTIES WOULD NOT BRING WITH THEM TO THEIR RALLIES IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY THEIR YOUTH GROUPS OR OTHER PROVOCATEURS FROM KIGALI.

TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION

5. APPARENTLY SUPPORTED BY THE BISHOPS, THE PARTIES

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URGED THE MRND TO ACCEPT THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION
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ON TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION. THEY ADDED THAT IT
WOULD HAVE TO BE AUGMENTED BY THE CHANGES OF A FEW
OTHER PERSONS WHO HAD BEEN CLEARLY DERELICT IN THEIR
DUTIES SINCE THE TIME THE COMMISSION REPORT CAME
OUT. THEY ALSO SAID THAT THE MRND SHOULD CONSULT
WITH THE PARTIES BEFORE APPOINTING REPLACEMENTS FOR
BOURGEMESTRES WHO HAVE DIED, RETIRED OR ARE BEING
REPLACED.

6. THIS IS A COMPROMISE ON THE PART OF THE
OPPOSITION PARTIES WHO HAVE MOST RECENTLY BEEN
DEMANDING THAT ALL BOURGEMESTRES BE REPLACED. THIS
POSITION DOES NOT NECESSARILY CONTRADICT ARTICLE 46

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	ANHR-01	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00
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P 171435Z NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2254
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 04740

C O R R E C T E D COPY (TEXT)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: BISHOPS MEET THE PARTIES WHILE PRESIDENT

OF THE DRAFT ACCORD, BECAUSE PRESUMABLY ONCE THE
PARTIES ACCEPT THAT THE COMMISSION REPORT IS THE
ANSWER, THE BOURGEMESTRES WOULD EITHER BE REPLACED OR

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RECONFIRMED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 46. HOWEVER,
IT IS NOT CLEAR THAT THE MRND HAS ACCEPTED THE
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REVISED PROPOSAL WHICH SEEMS TO BE SUPPORTED BY THE
BISHOPS. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH US, MRND
LEADERS HAVE ADMITTED THAT THEIR REJECTION OF THE
COMMISSION REPORT LAST AUGUST WAS A MISTAKE AND HAVE
GIVEN THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE LOOKING FOR A WAY
OUT. THIS MIGHT BE IT.

ELECTIONS

7. ACCORDING TO MUGENZI, THE BISHOPS SUPPORTED THE
IDEA THAT ELECTIONS ARE OUT OF THE QUESTION FOR THE
MOMENT. THE BISHOPS WERE APPARENTLY WILLING TO
ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SELECTED BY
NOMINATIONS OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES. THEY WERE
REPORTEDLY ALSO WILLING TO ACCEPT THE SUSPENSION OF
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD. BUT
THE BISHOPS DID AGREE THAT THE FIVE PARTIES NOW IN
THE GOVERNMENT PLUS THE RPF SHOULD CONTROL THE
PROCESS. THEY DID NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT
THIS GROUP PLUS THE RPF MIGHT INVITE ANOTHER PARTY OR
TWO TO TAKE PLACE. THUS, IN FACT, THE BISHOPS
ACCEPTED COMPLETELY ARTICLE 14 OF THE ARUSHA PAPER.

NEXT STEPS

8. ACCORDING TO THE PLAN, THE BISHOPS WILL NOW GO ON
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TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT HABİYARMANA, HOPEFULLY TODAY,
TO GIVE HIM THEIR OBSERVATIONS ON THE MEETING WITH
THE PARTIES. THIS SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A MEETING ON
WEDNESDAY OR PERHAPS THURSDAY BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT
AND THE LEADERS OF THE PARTIES. THUS, IF THERE IS NO
SLIPPAGE IN TIME AND ALL GOES SMOOTHLY IN THE
SUBSTANTIVE SIDE, IT IS STILL POSSIBLE THAT THERE
COULD BE A CONSENSUS HERE IN TIME FOR THE FOREIGN
MINISTER TO LEAVE FOR ARUSHA ON NOVEMBER 22.

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PUBLIC CONFRONTATION ESCALATES

9. UNFORTUNATELY, BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAVE NOW TAKEN MAJOR STEPS BACKWARD FROM CONSENSUS. THE MOST SERIOUS WAS THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH IN KINYARWANDA IN RUHENGARI ON NOVEMBER 15. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE SUPPORTED THE ARUSHA PROCESS, BUT DID NOT SUPPORT THE FACT THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD MADE DEALS ON HIS OWN FOR HIS OWN AND HIS PARTY'S INTEREST. WORKING HIMSELF UP TO A POLITICAL CLIMAX, THE PRESIDENT SAID HE WOULD RETURN TO RUHENGARI WITH THE INTERAHAMWE FOR WHOM HE HAD SUCH GREAT AFFECTION AND HIS MILITARY WHO WOULD CARRY HIM INTO POWER.

10. THE FOREIGN MINISTER ALMOST IMMEDIATELY RESPONDED WITH A CHALLENGE TO THE PRESIDENT FOR A PUBLIC DEBATE ON THE ISSUES OF ARUSHA. HE NOTED CLEARLY THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD ACCUSED HIM OF SERIOUS MISBEHAVIOR, BUT
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HAD NOT SPECIFIED ON WHAT ISSUES THE PRESIDENT IN FACT DISAGREED WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER. THE FOREIGN MINISTER THEN DEFIANTLY PLEDGED TO BE IN ARUSHA NOVEMBER 23 TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS, IMPLYING HE WOULD CARRY ON WITH OR WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS.

11. THE MRND CAN BE EXPECTED TO STAND BEHIND THE PRESIDENT, EVEN IF THEY DON'T FULLY UNDERSTAND WHAT ISSUES ARE REALLY AT STAKE. THE CONCERTATION PARTIES ASSURE ME THAT THEY ARE STANDING FORCEFULLY BEHIND THE FOREIGN MINISTER. HOWEVER, TWAGIRAMUNGU TOLD ME HE CANNOT UNDERSTAND HOW THE FOREIGN MINISTER COULD ANNOUNCE SO CONFIDENTLY THAT HE WAS GOING TO ARUSHA

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2255
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 04740

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: BISHOPS MEET THE PARTIES WHILE PRESIDENT

ON NOVEMBER 23, WHEN IT IS OBVIOUS TO THE WHOLE WORLD
THAT THE RWANDAN POLITICAL SCENE REMAINS IN TOTAL
DISARRAY.

12. COMMENT. I CONTINUE TO DOUBT THAT AN INTERNAL
CONSENSUS CAN BE REACHED BY THE END OF THIS WEEK.
EVERYONE IS RELIEVED THAT THE BISHOPS ARE NOW

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ENGAGED, BUT THE EXERCISE OF MORALE AUTHORITY WILL
PROBABLY TAKE A LITTLE LONGER THAN IT MIGHT BE
HOPED. ALTHOUGH I DO NOT SEE IT AS OUR ROLE TO
ADVISE THE PARTIES ON A FURTHER POSTPONEMENT, I THINK
WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ENCOURAGE THE RPF TO STAY
THE COURSE IF THIS PROCESS TAKES A LITTLE LONGER.
FLATEN

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